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*A Third of a Century in
Senate Cloakrooms*



William McWhorter Cochrane

*Together with Proceedings of a Banquet on the Occasion of the Presentation
of the North Caroliniana Society Award for 1988*

NORTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY IMPRINTS
NUMBER 17

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No. 17. *A Third of a Century in Senate Cloakrooms* (1988)
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Chapel Hill
NORTH CAROLINIANA SOCIETY, INC.
AND NORTH CAROLINA COLLECTION
1988

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William McWhorter Cochrane, recipient of the North Caroliniana Society Award for 1988, stands at top beside an exhibit on his career. At bottom are Gladys Hall Coates, who introduced him for his address; Cochrane; and Archie K. Davis, president of the Society. (Photos by Charles Powell, North Carolina Collection.)

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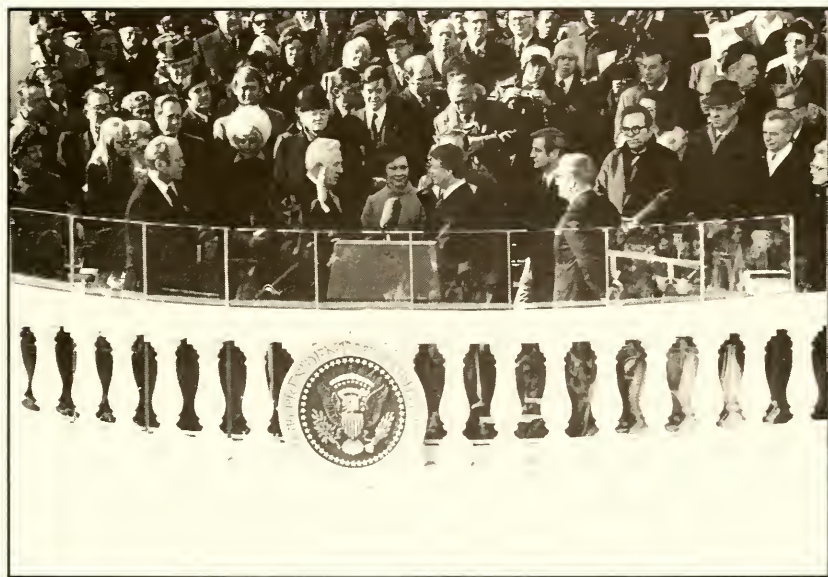
Bill and Shirley Cochrane at top chat with James O. King of Kentucky, his successor as director of the Senate Rules Committee, and Mrs. King; and at bottom they greet Marjorie and Sam Ragan of Southern Pines. (Photos by Charles Powell, North Carolina Collection.)



At top the Cochranes greet Richard and Brenda Tie Wing and Mrs. Edward Tie; and at bottom are, left to right, niece Susan Austin Carney of Ohio, son Thomas M. Cochrane and his wife Suzanne, and son William Daniel Cochrane. (Photos by Charles Powell, North Carolina Collection.)



Nieces Frances Austin Vaughn and Carolyn Price and great-nephew Justin Price are shown at top with George F. Jones (standing); and at bottom Cochrane is shown in his legendary office in the Russell Senate Office Building in Washington. (Top photo by Charles Powell; bottom photo by Jim Schlosser, Greensboro News and Record.)



For twenty years Cochrane handled presidential inaugurations. At top left he strikes a familiar pose, and at right he is greeted by President Richard M. Nixon on inauguration day 1973. At bottom he stands directly behind Vice-President Walter Mondale as Jimmy Carter is sworn in as president in 1977. (Photos courtesy Bill Cochrane.)



I

AN AFTERNOON WITH WILLIAM McWHORTER COCHRANE

As a prelude to "An Evening with Bill Cochrane," the North Caroliniana Society invited William McWhorter Cochrane to give a public address in renovated Wilson Library on Friday, 3 June 1988. His subject, "A Third of a Century in Senate Cloakrooms," provided a review of his long period of service on Capitol Hill in Washington. His paper, preceded by an introduction by Gladys Hall Coates, is published herein.





Introduction of *William McWhorter Cochrane*

Gladys Hall Coates

Many years ago, when the Institute of Government was just getting started, my husband and I saw a movie called *Kentucky*. The story had to do with the choice and training of a colt who in time ran and won a great race. When the owner was asked how he happened to choose that particular colt, he replied, "He had the look of eagles in his eye."

The story came to express what my husband was always looking for in selecting staff members for the Institute of Government. And that is the way Albert Coates has felt about Bill Cochrane from that day to this.

Bill Cochrane was born in Newton, North Carolina, on 6 March 1917. He graduated from the Newton High School, which he completed in ten years, then journeyed to Chapel Hill with the twenty-nine dollars in his pocket he had saved while working in his father's store, and entered the University of North Carolina in September 1933. He was just sixteen years old.

At first he lived with a cousin on a farm several miles from Chapel Hill, but after a few months he rented a room in town which enabled him to get to his classes on time as well as to find jobs to support himself. This was in the midst of the Depression, and after three years of struggle he decided to go back home and try to earn enough money to return to Chapel Hill and finish work on his degree.

For nearly two years he managed to hold down three part-time jobs. One of the jobs was on a newspaper which he liked well enough to change his major from commerce to journalism. His decision brought him in touch with two of the most remarkable teachers in the University: Phillips Russell and O. J. Coffin, the latter known to his students as "Skipper," whose witty and charming wife, Gertrude, was a cousin of Bill's. Bill was blest with still another cousin in Chapel Hill—the legendary Louis Round Wilson, for whom the building we are now meeting in was named.

During those strenuous years, Bill's talents had not gone unnoticed by his peers. A citation from the *Carolina Magazine* in 1941 recognized a significant achievement:

For the past three years the die-hard prophets of student government have predicted that some day a real leader would develop who would make the Student Legislature a predominant force on campus. With the conclusion of his term [as speaker—and he was the first speaker] Bill Cochrane has marked a new era in student self-government. . . . Today, there stands a Student Legislature that is not only comprised of men representing every phase of campus life, but men who have the complete authority to reflect and at the same time lead the student body in progress. . . . Through his ability as an organizer and as a leader of men, Bill Cochrane this year stands as the chief cause of greater representation and activity in . . . [the] student body.

He was inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece in recognition of this achievement.

Bill Cochrane earned the A.B. (1939) and the LL.B. (1941) degrees at this University and the Master of Laws degree (1954) at Yale. After graduation from law school he became a full-time member of the Institute of Government. He had served as a valiant part-time member while still in Law School. Indeed, he had helped to save the life of the Institute and keep it going during a critical period in the 1930s.

A member of the United States Naval Reserve since July 1941, Bill entered on active duty in 1942, shortly after Pearl Harbor, as an apprentice seaman, rising to the rank of lieutenant and serving for three years as deck officer aboard a minesweeper in Atlantic and Mediterranean waters and in the American and European-African Theatres. He is the recipient of a star for the invasion of Southern France, as well as a victory medal. Currently he holds the rank of lieutenant commander in the Naval Ready Reserve.

On his release from the Navy in 1945, he rejoined the Institute of Government where he served with distinction for nearly ten years (1945–54), first as assistant director and later as administrative director. He was also associate research professor in public law and government during these years.

There was another event in Bill's life that took place in 1945, his marriage to the lovely and gifted Shirley Graves of Chapel Hill.

In 1954, Bill Cochrane went to Washington to "spend a year"—helping former Governor and newly elected Senator W. Kerr Scott set up his office. He stayed as Scott's executive secretary and legislative counsel until the senator's death in 1957, when he was immediately invited by the newly appointed Senator B. Everett Jordan to remain and serve as his administrative assistant and

legislative counsel. Bill was with Jordan for nearly fifteen years and stayed with him until the end of the senator's term, after his defeat in the 1972 primary. His superb record with Jordan while the senator was chairman of the powerful Senate Committee on Rules and Administration led to his appointment as staff director and majority counsel of that committee.

In 1979, on the 25th anniversary of his service to the committee, Bill Cochrane was honored by a resolution signed by members of both parties praising him for his "sustained quality of competence, loyalty, and compassion," his "great skill and faithfulness," and his "vast knowledge and experience" in his service not only to the two senators from North Carolina but to three different chairmen of the committee.

In 1987 he was made senior advisor to the committee.

Bill was the recipient of still another honor in 1979—the 20th *Roll Call* Congressional Staff Award presented by his 1,200 fellow staff members for his "thorough devotion to the Senate, and in a larger sense the Congress, and whose myriad of contributions to the institution will be marked in that body for years to come."

Bill Cochrane has never cast a vote in the Senate, but his imprint can be found on many major bills. His services are too numerous to recount here, but one should be of special interest to members of this Society. Some of his best work has been as senior staff member of the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress. He has overseen the most dramatic expansion of that Library in its 180-year-old history. Officials credit him with the idea of renaming its two older buildings in honor of Jefferson and Adams, and say that the new Madison Building stands more as a monument to Bill Cochrane's quiet influence than to our fourth president.

Admired, respected, and trusted by both the Democratic and Republican parties of the Congress, he has been called on every four years for the past twenty to arrange the presidential inauguration ceremonies, each of which takes a full year of preparation. Both parties have requested him to serve and he has yet to refuse.

Though he has lived and worked in Washington for nearly thirty-five years, he has never changed his legal residence from Chapel Hill. This place is still home to him. His devotion to the University has brought him back on frequent visits as a member of the Tar Heel One Hundred, the University's Board of Visitors, as well as attendance at many other University meetings and celebrations.

His Alma Mater recognized his great services in 1978 by conferring on him the Distinguished Alumnus Award. He is now serving as president of the General Alumni Association of the University of North Carolina. And his latest

honor, the North Caroliniana Society's Award for outstanding contributions to North Carolina, proclaims again the appreciation and regard his friends and fellow citizens have for him. He has often been called the third senator from North Carolina!

And so I present to you William McWhorter Cochrane, who is still running, and winning, a great race, and who has never lost the look of eagles in his eye.





A Third of a Century in Senate Cloakrooms

William McWhorter Cochrane

In the summer of 1953 State Senator Terry Sanford of Fayetteville dropped by for a late afternoon visit with Shirley and me at our home in the woods across Morgan Creek from Chapel Hill. He had just left the home of former Governor W. Kerr Scott, the “Squire of Haw River.” Governor Scott, whose term in Raleigh had ended in January of that year, was planning to run for the United States Senate in the 1954 Democratic primary against Senator Alton A. Lennon of Wilmington, who had been appointed the previous year by Governor William B. Umstead upon the death of Senator Willis Smith of Raleigh.

“If he runs, he wants me to serve as his campaign manager,” Terry said, “and if he wins, I am sure I could go to Washington on his staff. But as you know,” he added, “I am going to run for governor. I would like to see you go instead. What do you think?”

Terry and I had been together as undergraduate roommates and as assistant directors of the Institute of Government while we were in law school at the University of North Carolina before World War II, working four hours a day, six days a week. We had returned to the Institute after completing our military duty, but Terry had left in 1948 to practice law in Fayetteville.

My answer to his question was that I would go to Washington if Governor Scott should ask me, but that I would not promise to stay longer than one year.

As everyone knows, Albert Coates, now in his ninety-second year and professor emeritus of the University’s law school, was the founder of the Institute of Government and was its longtime director. One of his fundamental rules was that Institute staff members could not participate in partisan politics—even if we were “Yellow Dog Democrats.” So I was unable to take any active role in the campaign. There wouldn’t have been much time for it anyway, because another one of the precepts laid down by the “Cap’n”—as Terry and I called

him—was: “We have to work morning, noon, and night, weekdays and Sundays, and put every paling in the fence.”

Governor Scott won the primary on 29 May 1954, achieving a majority over Senator Lennon and five other Democratic opponents. That fall, on 2 November, he defeated the Republican nominee, Paul West, for the full six-year term as well as for the remaining weeks of the term to which Senator (and former Governor) J. Melville Broughton had been elected in 1948.

This meant that Senator Scott could take his seat as soon as the State Board of Elections certified him as the winner. It also meant he would have seniority over most other senators elected that fall, because he could be sworn in ahead of them—and seniority was vitally important in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

During the campaign Scott had promised his supporters that when he won he would serve ham and eggs on the Capitol steps to the “Branchhead Boys,” as he called them. He kept his promise. On 29 November, when the new senator and his staff took the oath, a large crowd of Tar Heels gathered on the steps in front of the Capitol for a victory celebration. Campaign manager Terry Sanford was to have a similar victory celebration on the Capitol steps on 10 December 1986, thirty-two years later, after he won election to the short and long terms over Senator James T. Broyhill of Lenoir, whom Governor James G. Martin had appointed upon the death of Senator John P. East.

A few days after he was sworn in Senator Scott cast his first important vote. The Senate was in special session when Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., North Carolina’s other new appointee that year, escorted his junior colleague down the aisle in the Senate chamber to take his formal oath. The vote was on the censure of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. Censure was approved by a big margin, with the support of both Ervin and Scott, effectively putting an end to the Wisconsin senator’s ability to ruin reputations of public officials and others by baseless charges—ever since called “McCarthyism.”



Senator Clyde R. Hoey of Shelby, the “silver-tongued orator,” former governor, and former member of the United States House of Representatives, had died at work in his office on 12 May 1954, and Governor Umstead appointed Senator Ervin to succeed him, to serve until the general election that fall. Senator Ervin was sworn in on 5 June and won the fall election to serve out Senator Hoey’s unexpired term.

Ervin was an associate justice of North Carolina's Supreme Court prior to his appointment. Because of this experience he was chosen as a member of the bipartisan select committee—three Democrats and three Republicans, chaired by Republican Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah—to investigate the charges which led to McCarthy's censure. Senator Ervin was widely considered to be the "star" of this committee. He thus commenced his approximately twenty years of Senate service with a top role in one important investigation and ended it by becoming virtually a household word for integrity and eloquence as chairman of the Select Committee to Investigate Presidential Campaign Activities, the so-called Watergate Committee, which led to the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon on 9 August 1974.

About a year after the vote on Senator McCarthy, I ran into Senator Ervin on his way from his home in the Methodist Building across from the Capitol. He was taking a bundle of shirts to a nearby laundry. As we walked along I mentioned that in October of 1954, while driving from Raleigh to Chapel Hill, I heard him on my automobile radio speaking about his experience on the McCarthy committee and explaining his findings and position on the issues involved. I told him I was so proud of him, as a fellow Tar Heel, that I pulled off the road to hear his full speech.

"Bill," he said, "while I was on the State Supreme Court I was so busy with my work that I had paid only scant attention to what Senator McCarthy was doing and saying. Truth to tell, if I had been asked my opinion of his anti-communist charges I would probably have been on his side. But when I became a member of the committee and dug into the actual record, I was utterly appalled at what he had done. It was crystal clear that he had to be stopped."



Senator Scott and his staff moved into the three-room office in the Senate Office Building just vacated by Senator Lennon and his staff, only a few doors from Senator Ervin's office. Numerous news stories called the suite "jinxed," because Senator Scott was the fifth senator from North Carolina to occupy it in one six-year term.

Here is how it came about: former Governor Broughton, who took office 31 December 1948 after defeating appointed Senator William B. Umstead of Durham, died in March 1949, and Governor Kerr Scott appointed this University's president, Dr. Frank Porter Graham. Senator Graham was defeated in the 1950 Democratic primary by Willis Smith of Raleigh, former speaker of the

North Carolina House of Representatives and former president of the American Bar Association, who took office after the election in November of that year. Senator Smith died in June 1953, and Governor Umstead appointed Alton Lennon, as mentioned above, who took office in July and served until Senator Scott succeeded him in November 1954.

Senate offices are chosen by strict seniority after each fall election and regardless of political party; so Senator Scott picked a different one for his full term and moved into it as soon as it became available, thus ending the “jinx” stories. Each senator had three rooms—one for himself and two for his staff—and there was only one Senate office building. Now known as the Russell Senate Office Building, it was named for the late Senator Richard Brevard Russell of Georgia in late 1972 under a resolution submitted by now Majority Leader Robert Carlyle Byrd and former Senator Marlow W. Cook of Kentucky, in a compromise which also named the new-in-1959 second Senate office building for Republican Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois. This resolution was approved by the Senate Rules Committee in the last meeting presided over in 1972 by Senator B. Everett Jordan of Saxapahaw, North Carolina, who had succeeded Senator Scott fourteen years before.



During the remainder of December 1954, Senator Scott and his gentle but spunky wife, Miss Mary, and his staff, most of whom had served with him in Raleigh, began to learn their way around Capitol Hill. In due course the senator received his committee assignments: agriculture and forestry, of course; public works; and post office and civil service. He became chairman of the tobacco subcommittee just when the first strong public rumblings were heard against tobacco smoking. Scott was always a special champion of the family farm—and North Carolina had more farmers than any other state in the union. At that time, in fact, two-thirds of North Carolina’s population lived outside the corporate limits of any of our approximately eight hundred municipalities, many of them riding to work in town on what old-timers still refer to as “Scott roads,” the thousands of miles of “farm-to-market” roads paved under the program Governor Scott had sponsored.

Equally important to the new Senator was his life-long interest in water resources development and flood control. In January 1955 he put me to work on several projects, including the long-dormant proposal for the New Hope dam and lake near Chapel Hill and the Falls of the Neuse dam and lake near

Raleigh. It took many years for these two projects to become the important realities they are today, for they naturally aroused a lot of opposition. For example, it took twenty-seven years and five months after January 1955 to open and dedicate the New Hope project, at which I had the honor of making the first speech. I think most people agree today that it is a blue jewel of a lake, a wonderful recreation asset, and in the near future, a much-needed source of water for municipalities in the area. It also provides flood-control protection for the populous Cape Fear River valley area.

Other projects reactivated and pushed by Scott included the Randleman and Howards Mill dam proposals, not yet accomplished, and, in cooperation with the late Congressman Charles B. Deane of Rockingham, the Wilkesboro Reservoir on the Yadkin River. The latter was completed and dedicated a few years later, and today is another blue jewel of a lake.

None of these federal projects would likely have been brought to construction if Senator B. Everett Jordan, who was appointed and then elected after Senator Scott's death in April 1958, had not given them his energetic support during his nearly fifteen years in the chamber. Most appropriately, I think, Senator Jordan introduced legislation that named the Wilkesboro project the "W. Kerr Scott Dam and Reservoir." After Jordan had left the Senate on 2 January 1973, following his defeat in the 1972 Democratic primary, Senator Jennings Randolph, chairman of the Public Works Committee, supported by Senator Ervin, sponsored the bill which named the one at New Hope the "B. Everett Jordan Dam and Reservoir." Senator Jordan was present at the ground-breaking ceremony and subsequently told me that he must be the only senator with a mudhole named after him. I wish he could see it now!



In May 1954 the United States Supreme Court handed down its unanimous decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, decreeing an end to segregation in the public schools of this nation. The court ruled that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. A year later a second court opinion called on local authorities to end "separate but equal" facilities and integrate the public schools for all races "with all deliberate speed."

Thus North Carolina's two new senators, along with senators and representatives from the other southern states, began their Washington careers in the midst of this difficult and divisive issue. Virginia leaders announced their support of "massive resistance" to the court's orders and were joined by leaders

of South Carolina, Georgia, and other southern states in a meeting in Richmond to plan their strategy. Nineteen southern senators (including Ervin and Scott) and 101 southern congressmen (including all of North Carolina's members except Harold D. Cooley, Charles B. Deane, and Richard Thurmond Chatham) signed the so-called "Southern Manifesto" or "A Declaration of Constitutional Principles." It was read to the Senate on the morning of 12 March 1956 by the president pro tempore, Walter F. George of Georgia, who was considered one of the greatest orators the Senate ever had. The "Manifesto" expressed opposition to the desegregation decision, calling it "a clear abuse of judicial power," and pledged its signers to use "all lawful means" to bring about a reversal of the decision.

In the 1956 North Carolina Democratic primary, which occurred some weeks later, Congressmen Chatham and Deane, who had refused to sign the "Manifesto," were defeated for renomination. Congressman Cooley, who had also refused to sign it, was renominated and reelected in the general election that fall. However, Cooley made it clear in his campaign that he did not like the Supreme Court's decision, and his opponent in the primary, states' rights champion W. E. Debnam, gave him a very rough time.

Senator Scott gave me a phone call on the morning Senator George was to read the "Manifesto," which Senator Scott had signed only reluctantly. It was still worrying him. He asked me to find out whether he could have his name deleted from it by the time he would reach his office. (It was his custom to walk to the Senate each day from his Westchester apartment, a distance of five or six miles.) I had to tell him that it was too late, because the document had been given to the press in advance, as was and is the custom, and would be released as soon as Senator George finished reading it to the Senate.



Senators Scott, Jordan, and Ervin, unlike most southerners, supported and voted for every bill that came up during their terms to provide federal aid to education at all levels—with due regard for the line of separation between church and state. As we all know, education has been of paramount importance in North Carolina since its earliest days as a state when, under the leadership of General William Richardson Davie, our ancestors established the first state university to open its doors, here in Chapel Hill, almost two centuries ago.

As it turned out, under the leadership of Governor Luther Hartwell Hodges and Thomas Jenkins Pearsall of Rocky Mount, the latter author of the "Pearsall

Plan," North Carolina charted a much more moderate course of action in dealing with the integration issue than was the case in most of the other southern states.



Everett Jordan took his oath as North Carolina's junior Senator on 5 May 1958, after being escorted down the aisle by Senator Ervin. He had been appointed by Governor Hodges following Senator Scott's death. It is worthy of note that Senators Ervin and Jordan are the only two appointed senators in North Carolina history—since 1913 when direct election of senators by the citizens replaced election by legislatures—to win subsequent election to complete the terms of their predecessors. Senators Cameron Morrison, Umstead, Graham, Lennon, and Broyhill, all appointed by governors to succeed senators who had died, were defeated in the following elections. Perhaps this independent spirit shown in so many ways by the people of our state ties in with the fact that, since the days of the royal governors, the legislature has always been supreme, our governor being the only one in the union who has no power to veto acts of the legislature.

When Jordan took his place in the Senate, he not only occupied Scott's old office but was given the same committee appointments. Not long afterward, however, he was also appointed to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. By 1963 he had become chairman of the Rules Committee, which meant that he also alternated with the chairman of the House Committee on Administration as chairman and vice chairman of the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress and the Joint Committee on Printing. He served as rules chairman for ten years—longer than any other chairman in the committee's history.

In a very short while after he took office, Senator Jordan faced his first important vote. As the newest of the ninety-six senators he spent a good part of the summer of 1958 taking his turn as presiding officer of the Senate, where the principal question was whether Alaska should be admitted as the forty-ninth state. This meant that he had listened to more of the debate than most others, and despite the fact that admission would probably provide two more votes against the southerners on civil rights issues, Jordan was one of the very few southern senators to support admission. The next year Senator Ervin joined him in voting to admit Hawaii, bringing the total number of states to its present fifty.

During his period of service, Senator Jordan was elected three times as chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies—a post of great ceremonial importance during the year before and just after each quadrennial presidential inauguration. In 1963 and 1964, as chairman of the Rules Committee, he conducted the hearings popularly known as the “Bobby Baker” investigation, during which he appointed as the committee’s chief counsel the distinguished Greensboro lawyer, Major L. P. McLendon.

When the cornerstone of what was to be the third Library of Congress building was laid with great ceremony in the first few weeks of 1974, the librarian—another North Carolinian and a graduate of Duke University, Dr. L. Quincy Mumford—paid his highest tribute to Senator Jordan, saying that but for the Senator’s support over the years, construction of the Library of Congress’s James Madison Memorial Building would not then be underway. Senator Jordan was in his last illness when this occurred, but happily we were able to tell him about it before his death a couple of weeks later.

Senator Jordan was defeated in the 1972 Democratic primaries by Congressman Nick Galifianakis of Durham, who was in turn defeated in the fall general election by conservative Republican Jesse Helms of Raleigh, earlier a member of the Raleigh city council who over the years had won fame, especially in eastern North Carolina, as a commentator and editorialist over television station WRAL in Raleigh. He had been a Democrat until he changed parties several years before the 1972 elections.



South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond’s vote as a Democrat in organizing the Senate in January of 1955, along with that of former Republican Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, provided the 49–47 Democratic victory that made Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas the majority leader that year. Senator Thurmond remained a Democrat until the 1964 presidential election, when he switched to support Senator Barry Goldwater’s campaign for the presidency.

As states in the once-solid Democratic South began electing Republicans, such as Congressmen Charles Raper Jonas, Wilmer D. Mizell, Earl B. Ruth, James T. Broyhill, and James G. Martin—the latter now North Carolina’s governor—and Republicans such as Senators Jesse Helms and John P. East, formerly rock-ribbed Republican states like Maine and Vermont began electing Democratic senators, congressmen, and governors, such as Governor and Senator Edmund S. Muskie and Senators George J. Mitchell of Maine and Patrick J. Leahy of

Vermont. There have been similar changes in the north, south, east, and west, many of them depending on whether there was a presidential election with good or bad coattails in the same year. In some cases there have been party switches by sitting congressmen and senators—in addition to the two mentioned earlier, Senator Morse switched from Republican to Independent to Democrat, and Senator Thurmond from Democrat to Republican. Democratic Senator Floyd Haskell had been a leading Republican in New Jersey and Colorado before winning election to the Senate as a Democrat. Republican Congressman Donald W. Riegle, Jr., changed to the Democratic Party while still a member of the House, was reelected, and subsequently won election to the Senate as a Democrat, where he still serves. And there are other examples around the country. It is clear that party loyalty has waxed and waned over the years.

There is good argument to support the wisdom of party loyalty, however. It is that in our system, in the Congress, the legislative process is closely tied up with the majority and minority political parties, of which there have been only two major ones since before the Civil War. If there were more than two political parties in the Congress—if, say, there were three or more—it would become very difficult ever to get a consensus to work out reasonable and effective compromises in adopting legislation—i.e., to get a majority together to pass bills into law.

It would be very difficult to keep the all-important two-party system if we did not have a loyal corps of members in each party, willing to fight it out in the primaries and the conventions, and then to unite in support of their party tickets in the fall elections. If we had three or more parties operating in this country we would often have the kind of chaos so familiar in many countries of the free world. And of course we would not want the one-party system found in so many dictatorships!

Nor would we find it good to have all the conservatives in one party and all the liberals in the other, because there again it would be hard to find a consensus within each party, based on reasonable compromise, so as to make possible the kind of give-and-take that leads to good legislation. As it is, in both the Republican and Democratic parties, in Congress and elsewhere, as in the state and local governments, we find the whole spectrum from very liberal to very conservative.



Sixty years ago, in 1928, Herbert Hoover, who in World War I had been a prominent Democrat from Iowa, then had served as Republican Secretary of Commerce under Presidents Harding and Coolidge, won the Republican nomination for president and defeated Catholic New York Governor Alfred E. Smith. Democratic Senator Furnifold M. Simmons of New Bern, who served as our Senator for thirty years and was president pro tempore of the Senate, led the fight against Smith because the New Yorker was a Catholic and favored repeal of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The state went along with Simmons, but in the elections of 1930, he was punished by the voters, who nominated Josiah W. Bailey of Raleigh, editor of the Baptist *Biblical Recorder*, and then elected him in the fall.

In the 1950s, one of the important arguments against Illinois Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, Jr., was that he was divorced. By 1980 that was not at all a handicap to the election of Governor Ronald Wilson Reagan of California as President. And in 1960 the fact that Senator John Fitzgerald Kennedy was a Catholic did not keep North Carolina and the nation from electing him President. Of course, the fact that Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, a southerner, was his vice-presidential running mate obviously helped pull Kennedy through in North Carolina. But the point is that people no longer automatically see one's being a Catholic or a divorced person as a sure-fire reason that he—or eventually she—cannot win an election. So the time may well come—it may—when one's sex and one's color or race will not determine one's chances to lead this country. Of course, we still have plenty of prejudices—all of us do—and the millennium may be a while in coming, human nature being what it is.

Senators, like other human beings, can change their minds. Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson, southerner though he was, is generally and fairly credited with putting through effective civil rights legislation at several points in his careers as senator, majority leader, vice-president, and president. And long-time civil rights legislation opponent and Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen of Illinois, with his famous remark that civil rights “is an idea whose time has come,” helped make passage possible.



In 1970 Senator Jordan, who had consistently supported several administrations in their prosecution of the war in Vietnam, was deeply worried over the way the issue had split our country wide open because of its terrible cost in lives and resources. As a result, he cast his vote in the spring of 1970 for the Cooper-Church amendment, which would have begun the end of our involvement. It came after the bombing of Cambodia. Senator Mark Hatfield of Oregon, a leading Republican then and now, expressed exultation and gratitude for Senator Jordan's support, saying that it would in due course help bring other southerners along. Senator Jordan told me that Senator Ervin's question just after the vote was, "Everett, have you lost your mind?" Senator Jordan did catch a lot of political hell for that vote—in person, over the telephone, and in bushels of mail—but there were also many on the other side of the issue. A short time later, when he walked into the State Democratic Convention gathering in Raleigh where about 1,800 Democrats were in attendance, he got a long, standing ovation, to which he responded with Winston Churchill's V-for-victory sign. Later the delegates voted two-to-one, as I recall it, in favor of the Cooper-Church amendment.

Senators Jordan and Ervin always remained good friends, despite their differences on some issues. Like the Ervins and the Scotts, Senator Jordan and his genial and personable wife Katherine McLean Jordan were members of unusually distinguished, successful, achievement-oriented, and closely united North Carolina families. Senator Jordan and Senator Scott's wife, Miss Mary, were first cousins. Senator Jordan and Senator Ervin had known each other from their boyhood days. Jordan's father, who had once been a lawyer in eastern North Carolina, later became a minister in the Methodist Church. This meant that his son Everett, along with the rest of the family, acquired a number of "home towns" in various parts of North Carolina, usually four years spent at each one. One was Morganton, and that is where the two future senators first knew each other. Jordan was born on 8 September 1896, Ervin only nineteen days later.

Another close friend of Senator Ervin through the years was law school professor emeritus and Institute of Government founder Albert Coates, who was in school at the University here and at Harvard Law School with Sam Ervin. Coates was also born in 1896, on 25 August. He was and is my close friend and mentor, in my own law school days, during my years with him at the Institute of Government, and ever since I left the Institute in 1954. I can say without reservation that next to my father and mother I learned more from Albert Coates, and he had a greater influence on me, than any other person I ever knew. To so many of us who know him, he personifies the very best meaning of the word "mentor." Whenever he and his wife Gladys Hall Coates, his cofounder of the Institute, came to Washington, they invariably came by

for a visit, and Senator Jordan became well acquainted with both of them. One day Professor Coates came alone, waited in my office to say hello to the Senator, who was on the Senate floor, and finally had to leave without seeing him. When Senator Jordan walked in a few minutes later, I told him Mr. Coates had had to leave, after waiting to see him. "I sure am sorry I missed him," said Senator Jordan; "I have become very fond of the old gentleman"—an old gentleman who was two weeks older than the Senator!



The only Senator now in the Senate who was a member when Senator Scott and his staff took their oaths in November 1954 is president pro tempore John Cornelius Stennis of Mississippi, who took his oath on the 5th of November in 1947—almost forty-two years ago. Senator Stennis, who was a close friend, attended Senator Scott's funeral with us in 1958. Later, when Mississippi State University in 1973 established the John C. Stennis Institute of Government and chair in political science in his honor, he spent much time studying Professor Coates's well-known book, *The Story of the Institute of Government*, and modeled the Mississippi institute as closely as possible on the one at Chapel Hill.

Senator Scott had long been interested in North Carolina's Indian tribes, and early in his career he sponsored and put through the Senate a bill which granted their request that the name of the ancient tribe which for generations had lived along the Lumber River in the Robeson County area be changed from "Croatan" to "Lumbee" Indians, the name they bear today. He came to know them well and met with them many times. Congressman Frank Ertel Carlyle of Lumberton successfully sponsored the bill in the House of Representatives and it was signed into law.



Since January of 1959 North Carolina has had another native son who has become one of the most knowledgeable and effective Senate leaders—Senator Robert Carlyle Byrd of West Virginia—who was born in North Wilkesboro and grew up in West Virginia, his family having left North Carolina when he was an infant. Over the years he worked very closely with Senators Jordan and Ervin, as he now does with Senator Sanford. He announced this year he is giving up his role as majority leader at the end of 1988, and in January, if

the Democrats hold their majority, as the most senior of all senators, he will then become president pro tempore of the Senate. He will also be chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.



The people I have come to know during my nearly thirty-four years of life and work in Washington—senators, congressmen, their staffs and committee staff and the many support staff all over the Capitol from the basements to the attics, as well as both the career and political officers and employees of the federal government—almost all have consistently impressed me as able, personable, and hardworking folk fully dedicated to their work and to good service to the American people. There will always be a few bad apples in any barrel, as the trite old saying goes. Nearly all the good ones are certainly not working for the love of money, and most of them get very little recognition. Instead—almost since the beginning of our republic—they get a great deal of criticism as a class: Bureaucrats! Politicians! Lazy Government Employees! We are lucky that most of them can take it.

Over the years during which I have worked with people in the Senate I have found that all you need when you are dealing with the people here—or with human beings and human nature anywhere—are these things: common courtesy, common decency, common sense, and a sense of humor.

You may have noted that most of my remarks have concerned experiences with senators with whom I have worked most closely since 1954. I have not meant to slight other North Carolina senators and congressmen, most of whom I have known both well and favorably, Republicans as well as Democrats. I have had a warm personal relationship with Senator Robert Morgan since his days as North Carolina's Attorney General and share membership with him now on the Board of Directors of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society. Naturally, most of my comments have involved Democratic senators, because my work has been largely on that side of the aisle. But it is traditional on Capitol Hill for warm friendships to reach across party lines, in the Senate and the House, with members and with staff, regardless of political views or party affiliation. I have always had friendly relations with Republican Senators Helms (and with his able administrative assistant Clint Fuller), East, and Broyhill, and their staff members. I think it is fair to say that nearly always members and their staffs try to put the interests (as they see them) of country first, home-state next, and party last. One hopes to be known for telling the truth, first, and being fair in all matters.

I went to Washington with Senator Scott in 1954, promising to stay only a year. Now, after a third of a century, I feel as much at home on Capitol Hill as I do in Chapel Hill. Now, while my heart tells me to retire to our woods near Chapel Hill, my mind tells me I still have work to do on Capitol Hill. I am torn between these two great “Hills.” For the moment, it simply would be too much of a job to try to clean out my office in the Russell Senate Office Building. That’s enough excuse to keep me on Capitol Hill for a *little* longer. Besides, there are a couple of palings that still need to be nailed to a fence!



When I was studying journalism here at the University, Oscar Jackson Coffin of Ramseur, a great old newspaperman, head of the journalism department, known to all as “Skipper” Coffin, always launched a new entering class with a series of homilies. He would conclude with this one, and I think it was the best advice I ever got from anyone, and particularly useful during my years working in the Senate: “Above all, I believe in the Ten Commandments, all ten of them, and I expect you to believe in them—especially that first one: Do not take thyself too damn seriously!”





II

AN EVENING WITH BILL COCHRANE

On the evening of Friday, 3 June 1988, in the Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill, friends attended a reception and banquet honoring William McWhorter Cochrane—known by tens of thousands as Bill Cochrane—on the occasion of his acceptance of the North Caroliniana Society Award for 1988. The award recognized Cochrane for his contributions to good government and to the promotion of the state's history and culture. The master of ceremonies was H. G. Jones, curator of the North Carolina Collection and secretary-treasurer of the North Caroliniana Society, and the award was presented by Archie K. Davis, president of the Society. Speakers were Henry W. Lewis and William C. Friday, long-time friends of the honoree. Their remarks, along with the response of the recipient, are published in this seventeenth number of the North Caroliniana Society Imprints series.





The Master of Ceremonies

H. G. Jones

This Democratic convention is now in session. Will the delegates come to order—if that is not a contradiction in terms.

Our first business is the resolution of the Third Senator from North Carolina—all in favor say aye, all opposed no, the ayes have it—which reads: “All Yellow Dog Democrats are admonished to exercise, on just this one occasion, unaccustomed civility toward Jeffersonians who sometimes cross party lines, and—out of respect for the nature of this occasion—are even urged to extend to *all* present, regardless of party, the Left Wing of Fellowship.”

We are here tonight for a nonpartisan salute to Bill Cochrane, who always puts his country and his state above party, except—in the eyes of some—on election days. Bill has never been known to ask about one’s politics until *after* he has put him or her in his debt. The use of the term “debt” shows just how bipartisan we are tonight, for the Democrats invented it and the Republicans have adopted it as national policy.

Bill, all political complexions are represented tonight, but you must be particularly warmed to see so many Democrats. As the man in charge of presidential inaugurations for the past couple of decades, you certainly haven’t seen them in Washington on those occasions in a l-o-o-ng time!

Two hundred fifty people have come out on a June night despite other schedule conflicts and some from long distances. As North Carolina’s “Man in Washington,” you are placed in an unusual predicament, for instead of hounding you for favors, most of them are here to say “thank you” for your long service to our state, particularly for your third of a century as our eyes, ears, occasionally our mouth, and all the time as our conscience in the nation’s capital. That’s a long time; still, it is only an inch on the national time chart in comparison with the wood in this gavel, which was a part of the 1814 White House until removed by President Harry Truman during its rebuilding in 1950. We historians like to keep things in perspective! And to keep our politicians humble.

Many others who could not come to Chapel Hill have sent messages, and some of those that are not libelous may be printed, along with the entire proceedings of both the afternoon and evening activities, in Number 17 of the *North Caroliniana Society Imprints* series, a copy of which will be mailed in the fall to our members and those in attendance tonight.

Now, before eating, may I simply identify those at the head table. Will each stand as his or her name is called and remain standing, and will the audience withhold both applause and hisses until all have been presented:

The vice-president of the North Caroliniana Society and himself the eighth recipient of the North Caroliniana Society Award, Professor William S. Powell, and his collaborator, Virginia;

The joint ninth recipients of the Award, former President William and Ida Friday;

A friend and longtime associate of Bill Cochrane in the Institute of Government, Professor Henry W. Lewis;

The president of the North Caroliniana Society, Archie K. Davis;

And now will you join in welcoming on what by coincidence is their 43rd wedding anniversary, Shirley and Bill Cochrane.

There are Cochrane kinfolk all over the room; in fact, this is something of a family reunion, but let's welcome at least Shirley and Bill's sons, Thomas, of Chapel Hill, and his wife Suzanne, and Daniel, of Los Angeles.

We are now ready for dinner. About the menu: Bill said out-of-office Democrats could afford only two dishes at the Carolina Inn, and since I would be blamed for symbolism if we had chosen turkey, the choice was made for us.

We will be back after dessert.

[Dinner followed.]



William McWhorter Cochrane will be the eleventh recipient of the North Caroliniana Society Award. The previous recipients, beginning with Paul Green in 1978, are listed on the back of your program. The difference between them and Bill Cochrane is that they earned theirs. You see, when we began discussing Bill as a possible nominee, we found that credit for everything that he ever accomplished had already been claimed by someone else.

But the North Caroliniana Society seeks service, not publicity, and we recognize doers rather than talkers. Bill Cochrane has a history of “doing” and letting others take the credit. Thus we recognize him as the ultimate public servant. The habit of claiming credit for what Bill has done is not new. Let me give just one early example. It has now been forty years since a fabulous wood carving, “The Circus Parade,” was unveiled in the old Monogram Club on this campus. A generation of students and faculty admired the lifelike wood version of William Meade Prince’s drawing before it was moved and reassembled in the entrance to the Carolina Inn cafeteria only a few feet from where we sit. Suddenly the name of its carver, Carl Boettcher, became famous. University officials fell over themselves, each boasting that he was responsible for bringing the heavily accented German to Chapel Hill. Well, do a little research. You will find out whose family took in the struggling refugee and his wife up in Newton in Catawba County. And you will learn the name of the twenty-four-year-old law graduate from Newton who, the very day before he went off to war with the Navy in 1941, finally persuaded his older immigrant friend to take a job with the University’s building and grounds department in Chapel Hill.

The North Caroliniana Society is particularly sensitive to those who contribute to an understanding of the history and culture of our state and nation. Others will mention some of Bill’s work along those lines, but let me remind all of us that Bill was one of the most fervent supporters of former Republican Congressman Fred Schwengel in organizing the United States Capital Historical Society, which has developed into one of the nation’s most prestigious historical associations. One of its books, *We the People*, has—if we don’t count the Bible—sold more copies than any history book in the world. Bill, you will be pleased to know that Congressman Schwengel has made a contribution to the North Caroliniana Society in your honor. Others have done likewise.

On a personal note, though he may not admit it, Bill was instrumental in the invitation that gave me the singular honor of addressing a distinguished audience on the bicentennial of the Treaty of Paris from the same spot and under the same great wooden eagle in the Old Senate Chamber where the voices of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun once rang out. How many other simple citizens has Bill Cochrane introduced to the solemnity and the majesty of the hallowed National Capitol, whether in obtaining a hearing on a public issue, in cutting through the stifling bureaucracy, or in having lunch in the Senate Dining Room among faces familiar on the evening news?

If North Carolinians call Bill Cochrane our “Third Senator,” one American has called him the nation’s “101st Senator.” Another, Bill’s old law professor at Yale, Myres S. McDougal, writes, “I know of no person who has made more

dedicated, or more effective, contribution to the common interest during the past half century.”



It would have been appropriate if we had given Bill’s political associates an opportunity to return some of the credit taken from him, but instead we chose to let homefolks talk about the Bill Cochrane who, in all of his years in Washington, never forgot that his constituency was the people of his native state. Most of you had the good fortune this afternoon to hear Gladys Coates introduce Bill, and you heard his paper on his experiences in our behalf. Tonight two longtime associates will share their observations.

There are parallels between Bill Cochrane and Henry W. Lewis. Both are native Tar Heels; both were graduated from this University; both went off to the Ivy League for graduate work in law—Bill to Yale and Henry to Harvard; both entered the war at the bottom rung and emerged as officers; and both caught the eagle eye of Albert Coates, the founder of the Institute of Government, where they were colleagues from 1946 until Bill went to Washington. Henry remained at the Institute—except for a brief stint as vice-president of the University during the chaotic times of 1968–69—and served as its director from 1973, all the while teaching public law and government. His academic specialties are eclectic, as his publications indicate: from property taxes to art; from the ABC system to religion; from county government to horses; from Texas landholding to the Dromgoole mystery. He officially retired in 1978, but his research goes on, and his publications emerge regularly. Our first speaker is the holder of the Distinguished Service Award of the North Carolina League of Municipalities, Professor Emeritus Henry W. Lewis.

How many times have you heard a presenter say that a speaker needs no introduction, then proceed to give one? Well, not tonight. Our second speaker is a friend of Bill Cochrane, indeed a friend of all North Carolinians, William C. Friday, president emeritus of the University of North Carolina and now president of the William R. Kenan, Jr., Fund.

First, Professor Lewis, then President Friday.





A Nine-Year Moment

Henry W. Lewis

William McWhorter Cochrane: You will find the vital statistics in a number of reference books; for the moment I will simply say that though we were not boys together—he in Newton and I in Jackson—we were boys about the same time. Our connection with Chapel Hill began in that hot autumn of 1933, and last year—half a century later—our class celebrated its golden anniversary. It was at that time that Bill became president of this University's Alumni Association.

I want, however, to emphasize a nine-year moment in time that Bill and I shared in a special way. Early in 1946 I returned to Chapel Hill to join the staff of the Institute of Government headed by Albert Coates, a man already honored by this Society. The staff boasted six others: Peyton Abbott, Louis Cherry, Clifford Pace, Terry Sanford, John Fries Blair (another man this Society has honored), and William McWhorter Cochrane. I became the seventh member of the crew.

A few years earlier, while still in law school, Terry and Bill had begun Institute tenures that were interrupted by service in World War II. Both had distinguished careers in the armed forces, and both had returned to take up their Institute posts late in 1945. Reflecting his naval experience, Bill always called Mr. Coates "Capt'n."

The Institute of Government was housed in the modest Georgian building on Franklin Street that was its first home of its own. Jack Atwater, perhaps the one indispensable person there other than the director, functioned as our one-man service staff. There were two secretaries (Edna Clark and Nelle Markham) and one telephone line with two instruments. Pervading the place was an intense loyalty, a firm belief in the institution itself—a University-based agency committed to the importance and academic worth of research, teaching, writing, and consulting with and for state and local government officials, always within the defined laboratory of North Carolina. The Institute was an integral

element in the twentieth century movement to make the boundaries of Carolina's campus conterminous with the boundaries of the state.

Under Mr. Coates' leadership we were determined to grow, to meet the needs we saw, to work like dogs, to win the respect of our clientele, and also to solidify a place for the Institute within the University where we were a largely unknown and unrecognized species. This was the moment when our informal staff began the transition to formal faculty status. Bill Cochrane personified the dedication and determination which characterized that staff. Nor did he forget the community in which we lived; no one knew better the denizens of Sutton's Drug Store, the men and women of Franklin Street.

The Institute's one consistent means of communication with the officials and public was our magazine, *Popular Government*, a publication that had survived since the organization's battles for existence in the 1930s. Journalist to the bone, Bill became our *de facto* editor-in-chief. Month after month, sometimes when it was hard for our teething staff to assemble materials for publication, Bill worked to supply the magazine's pages with thoughtful reports of developing aspects of state and local government. He raked the sources he knew well, newspapers; and from them he distilled notes of local experiments worth passing along for the whole state. As books pertinent to our mission flowed from the presses, Bill wrote useful reviews for our readers. When the Federal Housing Act became law in 1949 he did a series of pieces on low-rent housing, on slum clearance and urban redevelopment, and on rural farm housing—fit interests for a man who, as the Institute's representative, later taught the first planning law course offered by the University's new Department of City and Regional Planning. Moreover, Bill assumed responsibility for the Institute's program in public health law and that vital but not particularly popular field, jails and their keepers.

Our first all-Institute project was a study of whether and how parallel governmental agencies in Charlotte and the surrounding county of Mecklenburg might merge or be consolidated. Bill was first assigned to analyze the agencies responsible for public health, and the report he prepared stands up well today. When two staff members left us unexpectedly he took over and brought to completion our study of the agencies for enforcing the criminal law, perhaps the most tangled of all the problems we met. Even in that abrasive setting Bill managed to make lifelong friends.

As a graduate of the Law School of Harvard University, Albert Coates, to no one's surprise, displayed an early preference for employing graduates of that institution. In fact, before the end of 1950 the Institute staff contained a plurality of Harvardians. Nevertheless, Mr. Coates was elated in the fall of

that year when Bill Cochrane took academic leave to attend the Yale Law School, seeking the LL.M. degree he acquired in 1951.

One day while Bill was in New Haven I had lunch in the old Monogram Club and gazed at the collection of college and university shields hanging on the walls. I was struck by the fact that *Libertas*, Yale's single-word motto, is repeated in Carolina's motto but coupled with that wonderful word *Lux*. Yale and Carolina also share the color blue. But Harvard's shield—in crimson hue—bears the one word *Veritas*. And so I had my inspiration; for the annual party Mr. and Mrs. Coates gave for the Institute at Christmas 1950 I rallied my Harvard colleagues with these lines:

. . . [I]t is only fair to warn,
 Brave Cambridge-men, give ear,
For insurrection may yet come
 To spoil our peaceful sphere.

For one of Carolina's men
 Is now beyond the pale.
Bill Cochrane's shed the Tar Heel cloak
 To bone it up at Yale.

We've learned *true* mental discipline
 By Cantabridgian rule
And know its equal can't exist
 At pale New Haven's school.

When from old Eli, Bill returns,
 With rolling shipboard stride,
Be ready, sons of old Langdell,
 To prove the Crimson's pride.

With two blue flames to light his way
 And steeped in *Libertas*,
Wild Bill will challenge our array.
 Rise, sons of *Veritas*!

As the Institute grew we subdivided our large rooms so that each staff member might have an office of his own; equally important, by challenging an adamant University authority, Mr. Coates secured telephones for each office. Whenever one of our new instruments pealed for more than one ring—no matter where it was located—Bill Cochrane would race to answer it. His commitment would not let him risk having an Institute caller get the impression that we were not on the job.

Once I dropped into his office and found him jotting something down on a 3 x 5 card, which he carefully replaced in the file drawer on his desk. Curious, I asked what he was doing. "Just making a note about a friend," said Bill. "What do you mean?" I asked. "Oh, I've found it useful to keep a file on my friends," he replied.

The little file drawer was full then—almost thirty-four years ago when we lent Bill to Senator Scott for *one year*; just think how many of those cards he must have in that bulging Capitol Hill office of his today. I have heard they contain almost 30,000 names! For the truth is that Bill Cochrane has devoted a lifetime to making friends.





The Man from Catawba

William C. Friday

Matt Hodgson told me last week that if on such an occasion everyone who had benefitted from Bill Cochrane's acts of kindness and good will decided to attend, even the Dean Dome would not be able to accommodate this banquet of the North Caroliniana Society.

So it is with the man from Catawba. Like many of us, he was tempered by the Depression, and its harshness made him determined in his lifetime to alleviate suffering, to reach out with a willing hand, and do what he could to be positive and find something worthwhile to contribute each day.

He has succeeded in his mission and it was bound to happen—this public service compulsion—because he was raised in mind and spirit by Albert Coates, Frank Graham, Robert House, and O.J. Coffin, and he launched his career with his contemporaries Henry Lewis, Terry Sanford, Cliff Pace, Dickson Phillips, William Aycock, and many others here. He established himself as a part of this community.

And what a career he is having. Since 29 November 1954, the United States Senate has not been the same. That was the day Bill arrived with another colorful Carolinian, Senator Kerr Scott, and from then until now he extended himself, and he has made an enormous impact on the legislative process and administrative performance of the Senate.

Just listen: Since 1964 he has staged the inauguration of our presidents and he shepherded Republicans as warmly as he did his beloved Democrats. He greatly assisted Quincy Mumford and Dan Boorstin with the Library of Congress (they credit Bill with the suggestion that the buildings be named for Jefferson, Adams, and Madison). There are responsibilities at the Smithsonian, the Government Printing Office, the Federal Elections Commission, the Office of Technology. Few of us will fail to recall his dynamic role in the legislation creating Jordan Lake and Falls Lake. As much as any other person, he is responsible for the location in the Triangle of the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences.

His uncommon devotion to public service shone brightest as he guided the hearing process implementing the 25th Amendment on presidential successions for both Gerald Ford and Nelson Rockefeller. "Guided" is correct because the amendment, its history, and the procedures for its use had not been discussed since the proceedings involving President Andrew Johnson a century earlier. Bill spent days and months studying succession and impeachment to be sure the letter and spirit of the amendment were followed.

There is another side to Bill Cochrane that not everyone knows. It is that part of his life devoted not to presidents, senators, and the glamorous side of government—no, it is the Bill Cochrane known to hundreds of young people right out of college looking for governmental work experience to express their own sense of citizenship, or the Bill Cochrane who has gotten a passport for a bewildered citizen, or who has calmed a distraught traveler who lost his or her passport in some foreign land. Whether its Chancellor Fordham, Dean Bondurant, the student body president, or a concerned citizen, Bill is always there listening and being of help.

Senators will tell you that Bill is the best informed and most experienced administrative chief in the Senate. It's true—and that is why he always delivers or sets you on a proper course. And he never forgets you, because if you will look around in that cubicle of organized chaos he willingly calls his office, you will find your name on your card in the company of 34,950 other Carolinians of whom he keeps track. This file will be real handy for him now since he is the president of our Alumni Association.

There are hundreds more examples of his public service to which I could refer. Each of you knows him and admires him and his dear Shirley as do Ida and I. We and our state have never expressed appropriately the abiding sense of gratitude we all feel for this noble Carolinian. And I am taking great heart this evening that this highly beneficial relationship is going to continue for the state, the University, and for many of us many more seasons.

I say this because in a recent interview Bill was quoted as saying that before too long he was going to build a home on those acres he has held here all these years and that, thereafter, he intended on sticking around as long as did his widely esteemed cousin, Louis R. Wilson. I say I take heart at this, Bill, because Cousin Louis did not become associated with my office until he was in his 70s; he remained on duty well over a decade; and after that he continued to let me know the error of my ways even though he was beyond his 100 years. By this formula, I can't even consider inviting you to become a colleague for a good number of years yet.

As I know is true for each of you, Ida and I treasure the friendship and boundless good will Bill so abundantly shares with us. To know him and to

know Shirley is to love them and to be grateful for them and to them.

Matt Hodgson, before too long and after they decide to do so, let's take over the Dean Dome one evening and put up this sign: "Ya'll come! Bill and Shirley Cochrane are back home."

The place will be filled.





The Master of Ceremonies

H. G. Jones

As we approach the presentation of the North Caroliniana Society Award, may I explain that we always try to let the recipient have the last word. First, though, I want to share with Bill and the audience a special message from an old friend in Washington.

Catawba County is separated from Wilkes County only by Alexander. As we have been told, on 6 March 1917 in the former, William McWhorter Cochran was born. Eight months and twelve days later in Wilkes County was born Cornelius Calvin Sale, Jr. It is doubtful if these two infants saw each other, for upon the death of his mother in the Spanish influenza pandemic of 1918 (which also killed 13,643 other North Carolinians, including the president of this University), Junior Sale was adopted and given a new name by an aunt in West Virginia. Fate, however, would bring these two mountain boys together in our nation's Capitol, where they now share enormous influence over the affairs of our nation. These words come from Bill's good friend from up north of Boomer and Love Valley:

I have known Bill for many years, and I am quite familiar with the important contributions he has made to his beloved home state of North Carolina, the state in which I was born.

During [the past thirty-four years] he has worked tirelessly on innumerable legislative measures. His efforts and expertise were instrumental to the success of many worthy projects benefiting the citizens of this country. Throughout the years Bill has gained respect and admiration from constituents and Members of Congress with his judgement, insight, and his knowledge of Senate traditions.

Although I will be unable to attend your ceremony [because of the Moscow Summit], I commend the North Caroliniana Society for recognizing Bill with this award and wish to add my congratulations to him for the contributions he has made to North Carolina, the United States, and the nation.

On the letterhead of the Senate Majority Leader, the message is signed by Senator Robert C. Byrd.

And now another North Carolinian who needs no introduction: banker, historian, author, humanitarian, and most of all, *doer*, the president of the North Caroliniana Society, Archie K. Davis.





Presentation of the North Caroliniana Society Award

Archie K. Davis

Thank you, H. G. Honored guests, members and friends of the Society: I have known William McWhorter Cochrane for years, but somehow or other the more I have delved into his past the more I have begun to wonder. As you may know, Bill served with distinction in the Navy during World War II as a deck officer aboard a minesweeper in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and African theatres. Following the war, he served as assistant director and subsequently administrative director of the Institute of Government at Chapel Hill until 1954, when he resigned to begin his long tenure in Washington, now in its thirty-fourth year.

We all know of his outstanding service as administrative assistant to our North Carolina Senators W. Kerr Scott and B. Everett Jordan during the years 1954 to 1972; however, few of us are aware of his long and remarkably effective relationship with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. From 1972 to 1980, Bill served as staff director of that committee. When the Republicans gained control of the Senate in 1980, he then became Democratic staff director, and last year, at the age of 70, was named senior adviser to the committee. The powers that be on both sides of the aisle simply will not let Bill Cochrane go. It is little wonder, therefore, that he is often referred to as "North Carolina's third senator."

Of the present incumbents only Senator John Stennis of Mississippi has been in office longer than our honored guest has been associated with the United States Senate. Since the early 1950s, as administrative assistant to our two senators and later as staff director of the Rules Committee, Bill has been intimately and deeply involved in most of the major issues and controversies facing our nation's capital, encompassing civil rights, Vietnam, Watergate, the unprecedented nomination and inauguration of two successive vice-presidents, and the near impeachment of President Nixon prior to his resignation.

As if this were not enough to satisfy his sense of commitment, Bill served, at the request of both parties, as the executive director of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies for a period of twenty years. He directed the staff work on the Budget and Impoundment Act of 1974, which was considered by some as the single most important legislation of the 1970s. As one observer put it, "the Cochrane imprint can be found on any number of major bills." As senior staff member of the Joint Committee on the Library, he is credited with having been a powerful force in the most dramatic expansion in the history of the Congressional Library. There are those who say that the new Madison Building stands more a monument to Bill Cochrane's quiet influence than to our fourth President.

And so it goes, the deeper one delves into his past. Incidentally, what has he done for North Carolina lately or, for that matter, for the past twenty years? Ask any one of thousands of Tar Heels who have gone to Bill Cochrane in search of advice, jobs, support for or on behalf of the state, its agencies or its institutions. Always the same quiet, thoughtful listener is there to greet them, always sporting a bow tie with his pipe and Granger smoking tobacco ever in readiness. Although an eighteen hours-a-day worker, he is never too busy to give his undivided attention except when his phone rings. He simply will not delegate such secretarial responsibility to others.

Tonight we have been privileged to hear from Henry Lewis and Bill Friday, two long-time friends and former associates of Bill Cochrane. They speak as one in describing his abiding affection for the state of North Carolina and for his alma mater at Chapel Hill, of his profound respect for the United States Senate, his dedication to service above self, and of his determination to perform and perform well—all underlain by an overriding sense of duty to his fellow man. Indeed, he is a politician at heart but seeks no credit or gain for himself. That is why he is the very best of politicians.

But somewhere along the way I have encountered some contradictions about our friend. It has already been determined that his driving force and perseverance would leave little, if any, room for equivocation or indecision, yet consider this conversation I had with him recently: "Bill, when are you coming back home to Chapel Hill?" His succinct reply was: "I have never left. I own my house and twenty-two acres of land just outside of Chapel Hill. I am a registered voter in Orange County and have no bank account in Washington." My only possible rejoinder was, "Do you not also have a house in Washington?" He replied in the affirmative, and quickly added, "I love my Senate work and will never retire."

So, if you have followed this dialogue carefully, we are talking about a man who does not work in the place he never left, but has worked in a place

for thirty years he presumably never got to. Furthermore, even though he never left Chapel Hill, he is always quoted as having said, "I never intended to stay in Washington longer than a year or so."

Surely, this display of indecisiveness could not come from one bearing such distinctive surnames as McWhorter and Cochrane, and especially from one who was known as that tough Billy Mac during his youthful days in Catawba County. With the thought that his family history might furnish a clue I again consulted Bill, suggesting that his forebears must have come south with the wave of Germans and Ulster Scots who poured into piedmont North Carolina in the mid-eighteenth century. He agreed that his people had come down the great Philadelphia Wagon Road, up the Shenandoah Valley past Salt Lick, now Roanoke, Virginia, and through Fancy Gap into Carolina, but, he replied firmly, "although a McWhorter, I am not an Ulster Scot. I am an Irishman!" My next question: "What happened to the McWhorters who came to Catawba?" His reply: "They went to Georgia. In fact," he said, "they are having the 116th consecutive annual reunion of the William McWhorter family this summer in Athens." My next question: "Bill, do you plan to attend?" His reply: "I don't know."

So there you have it. Our honored guest, William McWhorter Cochrane, is an Irishman who obviously belongs to a family that never left Scotland, who was raised in North Carolina but claims Georgia, who doubts that he will attend the family reunion at Athens but is probably on his way there now. And finally, we are privileged to honor tonight a true gentleman and scholar, a man of virtue, and, believe it or not, a political conservative. He is a man who shares Republican values, but to his dying day will proclaim to the high heavens, "I am a yellow-dawg Democrat!"

And so, ladies and gentleman, if he is in the audience, will the *real* William McWhorter Cochrane please stand and come forward!

Bill, on behalf of the Society, it is my high privilege to present you the 1988 North Caroliniana Society Award, which reads as follows:

The North Caroliniana Society,
in recognition of his public service and
of his contributions to the cultural life
of his fellow North Carolinians,
presents its
North Caroliniana Society Award
to
William McWhorter Cochrane
June 3, 1988.



Response

William McWhorter Cochrane

Good Lord! I hardly know what to say.

I'll have to borrow another one of Mr. Coates's solutions to this kind of a problem.

He has often quoted what Dr. Samuel Johnson said when King George III praised him for his magnificent new dictionary. Dr. Johnson at first demurred, for the King's praise was a little too much. But then he commented, "But who am I to bandy civilities with my Sovereign?"

That's one of Mr. Coates's adages that I've used, Mrs. Coates, and I am indebted to him for many more.

Tonight I want to say so many thanks to Shirley Graves Cochrane, William Daniel Cochrane, Thomas McWhorter Cochrane, Carol Suzanne Shirkey Cochrane, to my three nieces and their families, and to William Barklow Parker and his wife Athena, our neighbors from the other side of Morgan Creek.

To the incredible H. G. Jones, Archie Davis, and Mrs. Coates for their generous words, and to my old colleague Henry Lewis and to Bill Friday, and to one and all of you, I thank you.

I certainly think it would be intelligent on my part to quit while I am winning, and God knows I've won tonight!



The Charlotte Observer

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Saturday, June 4, 1988

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Honoring A Laborer

North Caroliniana Society Pays Tribute To Washington Career of Bill Cochrane

William M. "Bill" Cochrane, often referred to as "North Carolina's third senator" in Washington, was embarrassed by the fuss being made over him in Chapel Hill Friday. He said he didn't belong in the same company with Paul Green, Albert Coates, Sam Ervin or Bill and Ida Friday, who in other years had also received a service award from the North Caroliniana Society.

All those were giants. Mr. Cochrane said, while he had spent his 72 years as "a mere laborer in the vineyard." Ah, but what a laborer.

"We are honoring him because he's never done anything that some politician hasn't taken credit for," said Dr. H.G. Jones, curator of the N.C. Collection at the UNC Library and instigator of the North Caroliniana Society, a 140-member nonprofit organization formed to promote interest in and knowledge of N.C. history and culture.

Befriended Carl Boettcher

"You take 'The Circus Parade,'" Dr. Jones said, "the Carl Boettcher carving now in the lobby of the cafeteria at

Carolina Inn. Almost anybody who's been to Chapel Hill in the past 30 years has seen and admired that carving. Dozens of university officials and Chapel Hill residents have taken credit for its being there. But the truth is, it was the Cochrane family of Newton who took that German boy into their home, and it was Bill Cochrane who persuaded him to come to Chapel Hill. But you would never know that from talking to Bill Cochrane."

Mr. Cochrane's mission has been service, not celebrity. He is one of those rare North Carolinians who is on a first-name basis with at least one person in every county in the state. In most counties he knows many such people because at one time or another he has done them a favor.

Did Consolidation Studies

His service to the people of Charlotte, for instance, includes a pioneering slum-clearance law that he first wrote as a graduate student at Yale. "Got me straight A's," he said. It also includes the studies that led to the consolidation of city and county schools, city and county health departments and city and county jails.

He made those studies in 1948-49, when he was a young lawyer for the

**This
Time
And
Place**

UNC Institute of Government. His partner in the project was a colleague from Fayetteville, a young man named Terry Sanford who later became governor, president of Duke University and now a U.S. senator. Early in their college days, Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Sanford had roomed together — in a loft over Sutton's Drug Store in downtown Chapel Hill.

The North Caroliniana Society did not bestow its 11th annual service award on Mr. Cochrane without exacting a price. He had to "sing for his supper" by talking about his behind-the-scenes career as a legislative aide in Washington. His lecture was titled "Fifty Years In the U.S. Senate Cloak Room."

The title was slightly exaggerated.

He has been in Washington only 34 years. He went there in 1954 as an



Cochrane

aide to newly elected Sen. Kerr Scott. After Sen. Scott's death, he stayed on as legislative aide to Sen. B. Everett Jordan. After Sen. Jordan's 1972 defeat Mr. Cochrane became senior counsel to the Senate Rules Committee, where he has been

since. But as a founder of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society, he is familiar with Senate lore dating from the earliest days of Congress.

The Fight Over New Hope

His "cloakroom" talk covered a lot of interesting politics, including the long fight to build a dam on New Hope Creek south of Durham to control flooding along the upper Cape Fear River. The chief opponent was N.C. Congressman Harold Cooley of Nash County, then chairman of the House Agriculture Committee. Congressman Cooley objected to flooding farmland and predicted the proposed

the dam would create "a vast cesspool" in the middle of North Carolina.

Sen. Scott, an ex-agriculture commissioner and former governor with pretty good soil-conservation credentials of his own, pushed the proposal anyway, and B. Everett Jordan saw it through to completion. The lake, which now bears Sen. Jordan's name, never became the cesspool that Congressman Cooley envisioned. It is more likely to be an economic lifesaver as a source of water for the burgeoning Research Triangle area.

The wonderful thing about Bill Cochrane has been his enthusiasm for helping young people get jobs in Washington. Every summer a new crop of college students stops by his little cubbyhole office to ask for advice about where to go and whom to see. He has a filing cabinet full with old photos and resumes.

Hires Included Liddy Dole

Among them is one for Liddy Hanford of Salisbury, who had just graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Duke University with honors in political science. "I think I hired her on the spot," Bill Cochrane said. She went on to Oxford, to Harvard and Harvard Law School. She later married Sen. Robert Dole of Kansas and in the Reagan administration was secretary of transportation.

Though he has been in Washington 34 years, Bill Cochrane refuses to be a Washingtonian. He has kept a home in Chapel Hill, maintained his voter registration there and continued to do his banking there. Last month he strengthened those ties by beginning a year's term as president of the 170,000-member UNC Alumni Association, succeeding N.C. Supreme Court Chief Justice James G. Exum.

Not bad for a mere laborer in the vineyard.

— JACK CLAIBORNE
Associate Editor

Home state honors Senate adviser

By JIM SCHLOSSER

Staff Writer

The lawyer who left Chapel Hill for Washington 34 years ago vowing to stay only a year came home Friday to great fanfare.

William McWhorter Cochrane, often called North Carolina's third senator or the nation's 101st, received the prestigious North Carolina Society Award during a banquet at the Carolina Inn in Chapel Hill.

Cochrane is one of Washington's shrewdest behind-the-scenes figures — a bow-tied, pipe-smoking Southerner. He's known as a Senate staff member who can cut through federal red tape with a single phone call from his cluttered hideaway high in the rotunda of the Russell Senate Office Building.

Others on the Hill have bigger names, but few know the ropes better than Cochrane.

"The fact is, everything he has done has been taken credit for by someone else," says H.G. Jones, former director of the N.C. Department of Archives and History and now the curator of the N.C. Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. "On the surface, he hasn't done anything."

In fact, Jones says, Cochrane has done tremendous good for the state and nation, from helping North Carolinians with problems to being a founder of the U.S. Capitol Historical Society.

Cochrane, a native of the Newton area, joins such past society award winners as the late U.S. Sen. Sam Ervin Jr., the late Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Paul Green, Institute of Government founder Albert Coates, and retired University of North Carolina President William Friday and his wife, Ida.

"I'm a combination of humble and proud, and I'm surprised," Cochrane said in an interview.

The society, headed by former Wachovia Bank chairman Archie Davis, is dedicated to cultural and

historical endeavors. It funds the N.C. Collection at the university.

Cochrane went to Washington in the fall of 1954 as an aide to new U.S. Sen. Kerr Scott, the former Tar Heel governor. Cochrane told Scott he would help for a year, then skedaddle back to Chapel Hill to rejoin the Institute of Government or to practice law.

When Scott died after three years in office, Cochrane went to work for his successor, B. Everett Jordan, who later became chairman of the Senate Rules Committee. After Jordan's defeat in 1974, Cochrane became staff director of the rules committee. He is now senior adviser to the committee.

"We have some good men from North Carolina come to Washington, very hard working and a sincere bunch, Democrats for the most part, good Republicans, too," Cochrane says. "I happen to be a yellow-dog Democrat, matter of principle, but the two-party system is very important."

A yellow-dog Democrat is so faithful he'd vote for a Democrat even if he was a yellow dog.

Cochrane's work habits are legendary.

The late Sen. Ervin once said: "Bill Cochrane worked all day and half the night. If you got a telephone call from him at 10 o'clock at night from the office, then I would describe that as early."

Cochrane says he really never left home. He returns to Chapel Hill to vote, to bank, to check on property and to visit the university from which he earned undergraduate and law degrees. (He also has a master's degree from Yale). He is now president of the university's General Alumni Association, which has more than 100,000 members.

Yet, he will be remembered as a man of the other hill — Capitol Hill.

"The only senator who is there now who was there when Sen. Scott came into office on 29th of November, 1954, is John C. Stennis of Mississippi," Cochrane says.

Stennis is retiring after this term. Cochrane has no plans to retire.

"After all I'm only 71, going on 72," he says. "I don't believe in long-range plans. I'm enjoying what I'm doing."



Cochrane







The North Caroliniana Society, Inc.
North Carolina Collection
Wilson Library, UNC Campus Box 3930
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27599-3930

Chartered by the Secretary of State on 11 September 1975 as a private nonprofit corporation under provisions of Chapter 55A of the *General Statutes of North Carolina*, the North Caroliniana Society is dedicated to the promotion of increased knowledge and appreciation of North Carolina's heritage. This it accomplishes in a variety of ways: encouragement of scholarly research and writing in and the teaching of state and local history; publication of documentary materials, including the numbered, limited-edition *North Caroliniana Society Imprints* and *North Caroliniana Society Keepsakes*; sponsorship of professional and lay conferences, seminars, lectures, and exhibitions; commemoration of historic events, including sponsorship of markers and plaques; and assistance to the North Carolina Collection and North Caroliniana Gallery of the University of North Carolina Library and other cultural organizations, such as the Friends of the Library, the Friends of the Archives, the North Carolina Literary and Historical Association, the Historic Preservation Foundation of North Carolina, and the North Carolina Writers Conference.

Incorporated by H. G. Jones, William S. Powell, and Louis M. Connor, Jr., who soon were joined by a distinguished group of North Carolinians, the Society was limited to one hundred members for its first decade. However, it does elect from time to time additional individuals meeting its strict criterion of "adjudged performance" in service to their state's culture—i.e., those who have demonstrated a continuing interest in and support of the historical, literary, and cultural heritage of North Carolina. The Society, a tax-exempt organization under provisions of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, expects service rather than dues. For its programs, it depends upon the contributions, bequests, and devises of its members and friends. Its IRS number is 56-1119848. Upon request, contributions to the Society may be counted toward membership in the Chancellor's Club. The Society administers the Archie K. Davis Fund, given in 1987 by the Research Triangle Foundation in honor of its retiring board chairman and the Society's longtime president.

A highlight of the Society's year is the presentation of the North Caroliniana Society Award for long and distinguished service in the encouragement, production, enhancement, promotion and preservation of North Caroliniana. Starting with Paul Green, the Society has recognized Tar Heels such as Albert Coates, Sam J. Ervin, Jr., Sam Ragan, Gertrude S. Carraway, John Fries Blair, William and Ida Friday, William S. Powell, Mary and James Semans, and David Stick. The proceedings of the awards banquets, published in the *Imprints* series, furnish rare glimpses into the lives of those recognized.

The Society has its headquarters in the North Carolina Collection, the "Conscience of North Carolina," which seeks to preserve for present and future generations all that has been or is published by North Carolinians regardless of subject and about North Carolina and North Carolinians regardless of author or source. In this mission the Collection's clientele is far broader than the University community; indeed, it is the entire citizenry of North Carolina, as well as those outside the state whose research extends to North Carolina or North Carolinians. Members of the North Caroliniana Society share a very special relationship to this unique Collection that dates back to 1844 and stands unchallenged as the largest and most comprehensive repository in America of published materials about a single state. The North Caroliniana Gallery, opened in 1988, adds exhibition and interpretive dimensions to the Collection's traditional services. These combined resources fulfill the vision of President David L. Swain (1801-1868), who founded the Collection; Librarian Louis Round Wilson (1876-1979), who nurtured it; and Philanthropist John Sprunt Hill (1869-1961), who generously endowed it. All North Carolinians are enriched by this precious legacy.

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